

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

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Work.

The common problem, the problem that has always existed, for man is procuring the necessities of life. Whether the human race was, once, and in consequence, came in its desires and means of satisfying them, or whether it had developed to an advanced point along the trail of civilisation, the great task that had to be done by some means or other was to convert the materials found in nature to a form in which they could aid man in his quest for life. The only means by which man has ever winning his food, clothing, and shelter out of nature is by working. Of course "man" is used here in the general sense; we all know that some men have, since the very dawn of civilisation, lived without working, but even so, man produced those things that enabled these gentlemen to exist—it's a "fact" they were not found ready-made in nature.

Work has always been of the same character. It has always been a process in which man sets in motion his arms, legs, hands and feet, setting upon the materials that he finds around him, thereby giving them their characteristics. The reasoning faculty in this process plays a most important part. It is as cunning as it is powerful, and enables man to make one thing out of another, in accordance with the laws of nature in such a way that man's purpose is served. The primitive man dug holes, covered them with branches in order to obscure them, then killed the animals that fell into them with pointed sticks or stones. Later on he discovered that the springy nature of some kinds of wood, coupled with the tensile strength of catgut (or was it elephant gut?) could be utilised to project an arrow much further than he could throw one. Fire, the domestication of animals, the built habitation, the growing of crops, although possibly discovered by accident, have only been perpetuated, reinforced by a continual process of work. There have been many times in the history of man when his efforts failed, when some factor in the process did not turn out to be as he figured it would, and the results have often been terrible. But only been very recently that famine was not always a possibility.

The same old story still holds good. Outside of such things as air, sunlight, etc., the material things upon which man depends, if he is to satisfy his instinct to live, and the desire for comfort and luxury, are possible for him only through the medium of that process—work. It is certainly grand to be able to look back on the history of the human race and consider the struggle that man has had against the forces of nature and then compare his impotency then with his power today. As far as converting the resources of the earth to forms useful to him is concerned, man is indeed free. No longer does he fear famine, because of an inefficiency of work-process. The world yields up more to him than is necessary to merely keep him alive, and afford him the luxuries of yesterday, the only boundaries now to his productive forces are his desires. As far as work is concerned, the problem is solved. But if it is grand to contemplate the progress made in production how much more bitter become the thoughts that arise when we look around and take note of the actual conditions under which the human race exists, in this, the 20th century? Quite apart from a world war, which has already engulfed millions, and which bids fair to engulf millions more, the conditions obtaining under civilization for the majority of human beings certainly do not show much advance in security of living, increase of comfort, and generally, that raising of the standard of life that one would suppose would follow such an increase in the productive powers of man. There is, it is true, a small portion of the

Shop Dialogues.

No. 3.

"What we want is co-operation," said the Victorian Socialist Party man, "here we have been getting our wages increased from time to time, and we are no better off. Cost of living has gone up so much. If only the workers would all join up into co-operative societies, we could save money."

"Still worrying over being robbed as a consumer, are you?" asked the Industrialist. "It may seem strange, but not so very strange when you remember that wages depend on the cost of the necessities of life, which are the raw materials for its production—remembering this, it is not strange that the manufacturers are also in favor of co-operation. The 'Australasian Manufacturer' is also anxious to drag a red herring across the trail of facts, to draw away the workers' attention from the really vital fact that he is robbed on the job. They are quite in accord with Editor Ross of the V.S.P. in their praise of H. M. Murphy's book, 'Wages and prices in Australia,' in which the writer holds 'that increased wages in this country have been followed by increased prices'; that is to say, that the workers have been robbed of the increase in consumption. Now when a capitalist paper agrees with a pseudo socialist, there is something wrong in their presentation of facts. Increased prices do not follow increased wages; wages follow increased prices."

"But are the manufacturers in favor of co-operative societies?" asked the V.S.P. man.

"Very much so," answered the Industrialist. "Here, I will read you a manufacturing article out of the 'Australasian Manufacturer':—

"The subject of co-operation excites growing interest. A writer in the Sydney 'Sun,' Mr. Gerald Mussen, recently put the matter very pertinently. 'In the past,' he said, 'the employer has said to the employee, 'Come and co-operate with me, and make some money for me.' The response of the employee has not been too ready.' That is well put. The employers in the future, if they want a response, will say: 'Come and join us in making money for us and yourselves.' Employees must learn to understand that all employees cannot be expected to be very enthusiastic about making money for other people. It must be confessed that the aim of the average employer is self-regarding. He does not go into business for the good of himself—so far as it goes. And it must be confessed that a great deal of the industrial progress of the world has been due to the enterprise of men who have been actuated by their personal desire to make money. Still, the fact remains that working men cannot be expected to be madly interested in the success of business ventures which are in no sense theirs, and from which they may be at any moment dismissed. Something must be done to unite in some definite way the interests of employers and employees. And to effect the purpose is the aim of co-operation."

"WHAT EMPLOYERS MIGHT DO."

people; a class, by the way, that does not work, who live in a greater degree of luxury than ever was dreamed of before, and a "middle class" (composed of the upper strata of the capitalists and the upper strata of the working class) who, as far as its standard of living goes is not badly off, (but whose security of the means of life is by no means certain.) But the great bulk of the human race

"Mr. Mussen suggests that employers should organise committees, on which employers and employees would sit side by side to deal with the following matters:—

(a) Cost of living: employer to find capital to establish co-operative stores, to sell necessities of life to employees at cost price.

(b) Housing: assistance to build or buy homes.

(c) Provident Society: to assist employees in distress.

(d) Insurance against accident, sickness, and unemployment.

(e) Working conditions, including wages and safety.

Mr. Mussen admits that this would render the shopkeepers unnecessary, but that does not trouble him. He holds that there are too many shopkeepers in England there is about one to every five families. His suggestions are very drastic, but beyond all question our present system of distribution is unscientific and wasteful to an absurd degree. If employers would join with employees to reduce this enormous waste, the result would be a gain to both and the growth of a more friendly feeling between Labour and Capital."

"That sounds alright," said a fellow wage slave.

"Do you think it will solve the unemployed problem?" asked the Industrialist. "It is a sort of benevolent feudalism that will rivet the chains of wage slavery more securely upon you. And while such suggestions are made, for look ye, these ideas rarely materialise, you swallow the dope and are sent to sleep. The army of the unemployed is growing all the time, no worker has any security; he never knows when he will be out of work, and his wife and children go short even to starvation. There is unemployment because the workers are robbed on the job; because the workers cannot buy back with their wages the full product of their toil, and so men are out of work because they have produced too much. Warehouses are glutted in spite of the fact that workers and their wives and children go short of clothing, boots and food. No, fellow workers, wages are based on the cost of the necessities of life, and if the bosses can reduce the cost of living to you, it means cheaper labor to them. Shrewd employers recognise that a well-housed, well-fed wage slave is more efficient and can be speeded up to produce more wealth than a poorly-housed and fed worker."

"Yes, you're right."

"Then why waste effort in organising the workers into consumers' co-operative societies, when you can solve the unemployed problem and cut the root of all our troubles (the robbery of the full product of our labor) by organising on the job—in the industries—into One Great Industrial Union to take and hold the means of production and distribution for the benefit of all wealth producers."

"Link up on the political field in the Australian Socialist Party and organise on the industrial field in the Workers' International Industrial Union."

—The Student.

TO ALL THE LIBERTY LOVING WORKERS OF AUSTRALIA.

Deeply incensed at the hostile and highly provocative attitude of the capitalistic Press of Australia towards the Russian Revolution in general and its leaders in particular, we Russian citizens resident in Australia strongly protest against the criminal action of the Press in consciously attempting to misrepresent and besmirch the real motives of the great Revolution.

Not content with this, the capitalistic Press goes on in its stupid criminality to blacken the character of the true representatives of the Russian people, trying to persuade the people of Australia that Lenin, Trotsky and other outstanding figures of the great Revolution are nothing else but German spies and usurpers.

Citizens of free Australia, we Russian workers cry to you that these and similar charges against the representatives of the great Revolution are nothing but wilful falsehoods on the part of the capitalistic Press. We tell you that it is only people with criminal minds, haters of freedom, bitter enemies of the working class—who try to defame the Russian Revolution—men who have been ready to give their lives, for the workers not merely of Russia, but of the whole world, will never, never prove traitors to the working class or sell their conscience to the blood-thirsty rulers of Germany for a handful of silver coins.

We tell you that the Soviets of the Peasants' Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies are no usurpers of the powers of the Provisional Government as the whole capitalist world has proclaimed, but that they have simply taken from the middle classes what is theirs by right.

Hear us, fellow workers. Hear us, because we are ourselves a part of this glorious, heroic people, because in the name of the oppressed, we are demanding from the oppressors the right of humanity.

We sincerely believe that the hour is near when the oppressed workers of every land will rise, in trumpet tones proclaim, "Down with hordes of politicians! Enough of lies! Down with robbers! Down with capitalism! Long live the industrial republic! Long live the proletariat of the whole world!"

—Committee of the Russian Association in Melbourne.

V. PETRUCHENIA, Secretary.

duction, the method in which man works, has at last arrived at a point where it is antagonistic to the mode of production (production for profit). Man is not only unable to possess, and use, those things that he has produced by work, but he is prevented from working, and, just think! for the reason that there are no consumers!

This, then, becomes Man's new problem. No longer has he to worry about how he is going to produce—he always knows how, but he must consciously organize society with satisfaction of human wants as the sole end. The solution of the problem—the social ownership of the means of production, the production for use instead of profit—is put forward by the Socialists, not because it is just; not because it is in accord with the "Eternal Principles of Equality and Truth," but is put forward for no other reason than that it is necessary in order the work-process may be carried on, and that man may, as a result of that process, live and enjoy life; something that to-day, even though we are "fighting to make the world safe for Democracy" is, to say the least, difficult.

AMBROSE TREE.

—In "The Western Clarion."

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"Pitiful Poverty."

The Cause and Cure.

By Marela.

It is well that, while we range with
science, glorifying in the time,
City children soak and blacken soul and
sense in city slime!
There, among the gloomy alleys, pro-
gress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by
the thousand on the street.

There the master sermons his haggard
seamstress of her daily bread,
There a simple, sordid attic holds the liv-
ing and the dead;
There the smouldering fire of fever
creeps across the rotted floor,
In the crowded couch of incest, in the
warrens of the poor.

—Tennyson.

Among the many sad and pitiful sights
that are to be seen in every big city in
all parts of the world, surely the spec-
tacle of little children turning over gar-
bage and refuse in search of food, just as
dogs scratch for bones, is the most repul-
sive and hideous of all.

For years and years the socialist pro-
pagandists have stated that poverty ex-
ists to such an extent that this thing
occurs daily, and times out of number
they have been politely told that they
were liars; some people have flatly de-
nied that such poverty exists in London,
one of the most densely populated cities
in the world, and laughed at the idea of
such a thing in a free, democratic coun-
try as Australia.

It is left to reach such an extent, that
the capitalist press is forced to publish
an account of the "pitiful poverty" ex-
isting, before the average man and wo-
man will believe it.

Says the "Sun":—

"Many pitiful scenes among the poor
near Sydney are to be witnessed almost
daily at the Sydney Municipal Markets.

From early morning from 75 to 100
women and as many children are to be
seen turning over the refuse in the open
garbage tins in the search for vegetables.

Many carry dilapidated hampers, and
others sugar bags, into which they put
potatoes, onions, pumpkins, cabbage, and
other vegetable matter, thrown away as
bad by the salesmen."

This occurs, not in England, not in
Russia, not in Germany, but in Australia.
The freest (?) country in the world.

Can you imagine, children rising at
daylight hungry and cold, being provid-
ed with old sugar bags, and sent out into
the streets to search the garbage tins, in
order to obtain food to eat? Can you
imagine the poor hungry mites eagerly
turning over the filthy refuse, and fight-
ing with each other for the least putrid
morsels? Much the same as hungry dogs
and cats fight over scraps of meat or a

Workers, You are Manacled.

To you, fellow-workers, wage slaves, of
whatever colour, creed, country, trade or
professions, man or woman, the outcast,
despised, condemned, bulleted, bludgeoned
and beaten into insensibility, betrayed,
robbed and jailed, this appeal is made.

What is your life, my life, the life of
all our class, in all parts of the capitalist-
ically exploited globe? **Toil and poverty,**
and the jangling chains of militarism,
preying upon, and being preyed upon, in
this toil, cursed, eat, or be eaten, social
jungle.

The only freedom you have is the free-
dom to starve if you don't suit the boss;
or cannot succeed in getting a Trades
Union official position, or an opportunity
to work points on your fellow-worker by
achieving a Labor leadership. And the
equally glorious Freedom of going into
the trenches to slaughter the men of your
class in the interest of the god profit.

Under Capitalism, the hunger banner is
always in the vanguard of the world's
wealth producers. Armed degenerates
of capitalism are always ready to slay and
bully the hungry, unemployed, starved
victims of capitalists' class robbery are
ever ready to thieve the job of the blud-
geoned wage slave who has gone on strike,
or who has been locked out by a bowel-
less master class.

Empty stomachs, pinched faces, closely
buttoned rags, bootless feet, hovels for
shelter—this is the lot of the wealth
maker.

We are expected to be satisfied with
flop houses, bread-lines, soup kitchens
and dog kennels.

Are the wealth producers always going
to be satisfied with such things? Are
rags and charity and hovels always go-
ing to be a substitute for the good things
the workers are entitled to? Is charity
and the whip of hunger always going to
be the substitute for justice?

Are our lives to begin and end in cease-
less toil and ghastly poverty, with the
clank, clank of the chains of militarism
ever in our ears, without us making some
great effort towards Human Freedom?

Is this ghastly struggle, in which so
many have become hopeless, have lost
courage and strength of body and soul,

rotten bone?

While these conditions are going on
can we wonder that disease and infantile
mortality are spreading broadcast
throughout the land?

It is a recognised fact that decayed
fruit carries more germs than anything
else, and attracts more germ spreading
insects, and when we realise that this
putrid matter is being collected by hun-
dreds, and eaten by hundreds more, it is
not in the least wonderful, nay, the least
wonderful part about it is that there is
not much more disease and sickness than
there is.

Last week we read the piteous tale of
how a mother was driven to such a frenzy
of despair by seeing her little ones cry-
ing in vain for food, that she attempted
to take her own life. This case happens
to come under our notice, and thousands
of such cases are happening all over the
world every day.

The woman was discharged after prom-
ising not to do it again. She had to
go back to her starving children, back to
her miserable poverty, no relief for the
present, no hope for the future.

We could go on much further describ-
ing these existing conditions, but it is
only going over the same ground that
has been traversed so many times be-
fore. After reading and knowing that
such a miserable state of affairs exists,
we ask ourselves, are these things to
continue? Are children to be allowed to
go on delving amongst refuse for their
daily bread? Are women to go on at-
tempting and actually committing sui-
cide because they are driven mad by
pangs of hunger; and the state of poverty
in which they exist?

Perhaps the "Sun," who published
these facts, may have some suggestion to
make. Let us see. Ah! here we are!
a solution to the problem! Some one is

starved into submission or the cemetery, a
contest in which all that is good in us
is starved and destroyed, and which over-
shadows all else in our lives, to last for
ever?

Is the struggle to find a boss willing to
exploit you, and the struggle to keep the
job when you find it, a contest in which
our class all the world over are clawing
at each other's throats in their despera-
tion and despair?

Scabbing on each other, cheating each
other, and being cheated, despising and
cursing each other, slaughtering each
other in the shambles of capitalist greed,
whether it be on the bloody field of armed
strife or in the peaceful fields of industry,
going to go on still without a protest from
you?

You know, fellow wage slaves, that it
is our class who produce **all wealth**. In
order to secure a job you must produce
your own keep and a surplus for your
dear benevolent boss. When you cannot
do this you can go on the scrap heap as
human rubbish, or into the trenches to
fight in defence of your glorious privi-
leges. Do I make myself understood?

You receive wages—just enough to buy
you and yours some tucker and junk, nev-
er enough to buy back all of the good
things which you have produced. That
wealth fills the world's markets, for when
our wages prove insufficient to buy it
back the benevolent boss won't give it to
us for just asking. There is nothing do-
ing in that line with bossdom. When the
markets are choked you are sacked, until
trade brightens up a bit. Having
produced more than you can consume you
are free to starve and freeze, until the
exploiter can use you again, with a profit
to himself.

Capitalism is a sort of ring the bull
system. Our class being the bull. When
the wealth which you have produced has
been disposed of you find another job
and produce more surplus wealth, then
again unemployment, hunger, cold, dis-
ease and every imaginable misery in its
inglorious train.

There are all sorts of mental prosti-
tutes and dope merchants preaching that
the interest of labor and capital are iden-
tical. Cant and want are on all sides of
us. We are told that poverty is a blessed

condition which will be richly rewarded
when it has killed you.

What an inspiration! You workers,
there is a good time in store for you.
Fancy, all the commodities that other
more fortunate people refuse to buy, may
be at your disposal, a grand prospect,
truly.

Later some one else says "Can we not
manage to see that at least our innocent
children get a fair deal?"

We can answer that question without
the least exertion. No, my friend, not
under capitalism. While the present sys-
tem lasts, it is impossible for the workers
or their children to have anything like
a fair deal.

It is urged, perhaps as an apology, in
the capitalist press, that the late strike
has been responsible for this terrible
state of affairs, the immediate cause,
perhaps, but what caused the strike?
Was it not the fact that the workers,
ground down and already working at
high pressure, refused to submit tamely
to an innovation which tended to fetter
them closer to their machines, and force
them to produce more and still more
profit for the master class.

Because then of this abortive attempt
to lighten their load, the workers have
to suffer all these agonies, and the rest
of humanity calmly tell them that it's
their own fault.

No doubt it is the fault of the work-
ers that their strike failed, because it
was a move made at an inopportune time,
and while they were in a disorganised
state; but the fact remains that it was
the development of the system which
caused the strike, and its failure only
goes to prove our contention that only
by organisation on class lines can we
workers hope to achieve our final em-
ancipation.

condition which will be richly rewarded
when it has killed you.

We are told by these dope dealers that
we **MUST** hear the boss, otherwise there
would be no work for us. We must be
respectful to our employers. The func-
tions of capitalism, the intellectual elite
have received the price of their Judas
souls from the robber class, for chloro-
forming and selling our class like hogs
in the market. In all countries, these
mental prostitutes have tricked, sold and
fooled our class.

The interest of capital and labor are
one, sure, so are the interest of the thief
and his victim identical. Sure.

Everyone must have food, clothing and
shelter in order to live. And whilst the
industries which create them are owned
and controlled by a small class, they also
own and control the job and the wage-
worker. Easy to understand that, isn't it?

This private ownership of the means of
life is the sole cause of the debasing and
degrading scramble which alone distin-
guishes our class.

This is the reason why our class is cold,
hungry and shelterless in the midst of the
wealth they have produced.

Here is the cause of the infant mor-
tality which is ever ending in the class war
is the result of the private ownership of
the means of Wealth.

Controlling the wealth means control-
ling the means of production. That is
all, and this is the only way to achieve
the end of the class war.

And this is the only way to achieve
the end of the class war. That is all,
and this is the only way to achieve the
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war. That is all, and this is the only
way to achieve the end of the class war.
That is all, and this is the only way
to achieve the end of the class war.

Our class is made up of men and women
fathers and mothers, grandfathers and
grandmothers, brothers and sisters, but
are we not willing to do something to
free ourselves from this vampire sys-
tem?

Socialism is the only way out of the

Nevertheless, the so-called laborites,
who talk about conditions in Australia
being so far ahead of other countries, are
quite content that the blame of the pre-
sent state of affairs should rest upon the
shoulders of the workers themselves; that
in reality, allowing that in the past the
working conditions have been slightly in
advance of other countries, present hap-
penings prove clearly the relation of the
worker to the methods of production; it
has not been any Labor Party with its
string of palliatives that has benefited the
workers, but simply because for a short
while the supply of labor was almost
equal to the demand.

When a time of commercial crisis
comes about, and the unemployed army
begins to grow, no palliatives can help
us; when it comes to profits the work-
ers go to the wall; and today we find
ourselves exactly in the same position as
any other capitalist country, with con-
ditions tending to grow worse.

We come, then, now to the only solu-
tion of this and all other problems. Past
experience should have made us learn
that bitter lesson, that under this pre-
sent system we can hope for nothing.

We of the working class do not, of
course, need the elaborate organiza-
tion on our part which is needed.

We must organise not with a view to
gaining better conditions of slavery, but
for the purpose of abolishing wage slav-
ery for all time.

Our class constitutes by far the large-
st section of society. We produce every-
thing that goes to maintain society, and
the earth abounds with innumerable re-
sources, which need only the magic touch
of labour to make into every possible
form of commodity, which, under a
new system would guarantee a free and
happy existence to the whole of the com-
munity.

Then let us organise to take over the
tools of production, and run industry,
not in the interest of a few parasites, but
for the benefit of society as a whole.

Are you going to get on your own side

MILLCENT HOLLYWOOD.

"It was not enough that they mocked

He had heard the message
It rang out bold and clear,
It came to him from the hut of a toiler,
In the cry of a babe.

Craft Unionism.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Speech Delivered at Chicago, November 23, 1905; Revised by the Author and Re-issued October, 1909.

The "Industrial Workers of the World" mentioned, has since changed its name to the "Workers' International Industrial Union."

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.)

The capitalists have at present ten thousand advantages over us. They own and control all the sources and means of wealth production. They are the masters of the tools; they act together. They control all the powers of government. They can shut at their own sweet will shut down their mills and factories and mines, and they can wait patiently weeks and months and even years, until the impoverished workers become hungry and are glad to be taken back at any terms. The capitalists have all these advantages, and they never hesitate to do anything, everything, that may be required to keep the working class in subjection. And they can and will keep them there just as long as they are divided.

There is but one hope, and that is in the economic and political solidarity of the working class; one revolutionary union, and one revolutionary party. It is for this reason that the Industrial Workers' International Industrial Union, has been launched and now makes its appeal to you as wage-slaves aspiring to be free. You cannot be satisfied to live and die as beasts of burden; to toil unceasingly to enrich masters who hold you in contempt; to be dependent upon these masters for your jobs and crawl like sycophants at their feet. You may not be satisfied, even though you have sufficient food and clothing and shelter. You are a human, not a hog; a man, not a mere animal. You have a manhood to sustain; you have freedom to achieve, and you have an intellect to develop; and these questions will appeal to you with ever-increasing force and compel an accounting at last, if you have the pith and purpose of a typical, self-respecting workman.

In the capitalist system you workers are simply merchandise; your master can at his own will sentence you to idleness, your wife to want and your child, perhaps, to a brothel. You cannot be satisfied with such a slavish lot and now is the time to make up your mind to change it. In your heart you will feel the thrill of a new-born joy. You will join the Industrial Workers, the one international labor union that proposes to unite all workers, that all of them may act together in harmonious co-operation for the good of all; a union that recognises no aristocracy, but the whole of the working class; that insists that each member shall have all the rights that are accorded every other; a union built upon the class struggle, appealing to all workers to get together on the right side of that struggle and achieve the emancipation of their class.

It is true that this is a stupendous task; that there are great opposing forces; that every falsehood that malignity can devise will be put in circulation to defeat the object of this industrial organisation, but nevertheless, those of us who have quitted the old unions and organised the Industrial Workers have done so with the determination that no matter what opposing forces may be set in operation, we will stand together side by side in the true spirit of class-conscious solidarity; we will move forward, step by step, in one solid body; we will speak the truth as we see the truth, and defy all the opposition that may be brought to bear against the Industrial Workers by all the capitalist class and all its vassals and emissaries.

This organisation has a mission as high and as noble as ever prompted workingmen, or any other men, to action in this world.

The primal need of the working class is education. By education I mean revolutionary education; the kind that enables them to see that the twenty odd millions of wage-workers in the United States are wage-slaves; that the economic interests of these many millions of human beings who do all the useful work and produce all the wealth are absolutely identical; that they must unite; that they must act together; that they must assert their collective power. When they reach this point they will cease to be slaves and become the masters of the situation; they will wipe out the wage-system and walk the earth

free men.

They can do this, and only they can do it.

I cannot do this for you, and I want to be frank enough to say that I would not if I could. For if I could do it for you, somebody else could undo it for you. But when you do it for yourself it will remain done forever. And until you do it you have got to pay the penalty of your ignorance, indifference and neglect. You have got to pay it to the last farthing. Nobody on earth or in heaven can relieve you of the consequences of your inaction. As long as you workers remain divided and at cross purposes, instead of closing up the ranks and acting together, you will have to pay the penalty of defeat and humiliation and slavery and all their attendant brood of festering evils.

But day by day you are increasing the sum of your revolutionary knowledge. You are becoming wiser by experience; the Industrial Workers would not have been possible a few years ago. It is an outgrowth of the very conditions I have described. It has become an imperative necessity. The workers everywhere are beginning to recognise it, and that is why they are flocking to its standard. That is why they are subscribing to its principles; why they are working for it day and night with a zeal that has never been known in the history of the organised working class movement; and why it is rapidly spreading over the whole country, and increasing grandly in numbers and in power. Let me say to you that no matter what formidable or subtle opposition may be marshalled against it by the capitalist class the ultimate triumph of its principles is as certain as that I stand in your presence.

There are a great many workers who insist that the old unions are good enough; and as long as they are of that opinion that is where they belong. So far as I am concerned I gave the old unions a fair trial. I am sure I had no prejudice against them. I am equally certain I did all I possibly could to build them up. For fifteen years I travelled so far and so long as I could, organising railroad men, and all kinds of working men, under the mistaken conviction that if we could only get them into the several unions of their trades and occupations we could in some way lift them out of their slavery. My mind was disabused. We had the railroad men, especially in this part of the country, pretty thoroughly organised. We had the numbers and to some extent the power, but we didn't know about the class struggle. We had that to learn. Then came the great conflict with the combined railroad corporations. We defeated them; and then we learned that the corporations control the powers of government. We got our first vital lesson in the class struggle. All the corporations had to do was to press the judicial button in their private office and the judges acted promptly in obedience to the command of their capitalist masters: the police and militia and regular troops followed in regular order; the press and pulpit and deputy marshals did the rest—and that was enough.

I never knew exactly how it happened until I understood the meaning of economic determinism and the class struggle, and then it was perfectly clear to me. And from that time I realised the imperative necessity for a different kind of organisation. I then said, we have got to organise, not only the railroad employees, but the whole body of workers, for concerted economic and political action; organise them all, so that all of them shall act together and assert the full measure of their power in the interests of all.

As soon as a beginning was attempted the railroad corporations said, "This vicious thing must be stamped out of existence," and so, for two years, I scarcely travelled a foot without being shadowed by detectives of the railroad corporations. No matter where I went, the detectives were there. When I would reach the end of a certain line the detectives who had followed me would go back where they came from and others would take their places. I remember when I got to Providence, Rhode Island, one night, I was conscious that detectives were watching me closely. I learned that the railroad officials in New England had announced that the American Railway Union should never get a foothold there. There were two or three loyal men there I knew I could trust; I sent them word not to come to the hotel and not to hold a meeting, but to come to my room at midnight, and come one at a time. And they did come to my room one at a time, and I organised them in my room at midnight. I left the city early next morning, and when I got to the next point I received a telegram reporting that they were all

discharged, every one of them.

Notwithstanding our secrecy the corporations knew who had entered my room and for what purpose; and the men were summarily discharged. Why was it that the railroad corporations would not allow the American Railway Union to organise? For the simple reason that the American Railway Union proposed to line up all the railroad employees as the beginning of a thorough reorganisation of the working class in general, and the railroads did not propose to tolerate that kind of an organisation.

They were and are entirely satisfied with the old brotherhoods, supplying the officers with annual passes and their delegates with special trains to take them to and from their conventions. To such an extent is this partiality carried on some railroads, that if a member of one of the brotherhoods refuses to pay his dues and is expelled by the brotherhood, he is promptly discharged by the corporation. The corporation favours the organisations that divide, but is implacably hostile to the one that unites the workers.

For the same reason the capitalist newspapers have so ferociously denounced the Industrial Workers.

They have warned workmen that Industrial Workers consists of anarchists, socialists, revolutionists and chronic fault-finders and peace-disturbers, who have been kicked out of other reputable labor organisations; of discredited leaders who do not lead, in whom the workers have no confidence and for whom they can have no respect.

The capitalist press is a unit in denouncing the Industrial Workers, and practically a unit in commending the American Federation of Labor.

If you workers think that the capitalist press is a safe guide in such a matter, you properly belong with the American Federation of Labor. But if you believe, as I believe, and as every intelligent workman must believe, that kind of labor organization that the capitalists endorse is not the kind that is for your good—that the organization the capitalist press condemns is the one that has working class virtue and efficiency—then you will do as we have done; you will join the Industrial Workers of the World.

Think it over for yourself!

Take a backward look over the last three or four years; satisfy yourself by your own observation that there has been little but defeat for the workers in the struggle during all that period; that they have gained substantially nothing; that they are divided and disrupted and not organized in any true sense at all. The time has come for a real economic organization of the workers, and that organization is now in the field and makes its appeal to all workers, and its principles and purposes deserve the encouragement, the support and the loyalty of every workman who has intelligence enough to understand his best interests and manhood enough to assert and stand by them.

(To be continued.)

"THE MAN AND HIS MULE."

"Come, none of your tricks," said a man to his mule.

"What do I feed you for, eh?"

If not in return for your labor—your colt; And yet you've done nothing to-day."

"It is by my labor you live," said the mule.

And you know very well that is true.

So I don't think you feed me at all, my good friend;

But I think, somehow think, I feed you."

"Well, you know," said the man, "that your work isn't hard."

If your food is a little bit coarse."

"The food," said the mule, "isn't fit for a hog."

And the work is too hard for a horse."

"Your father before you wrought hard," said the man.

"On nothing but thistles and grass."

"Just so," said the mule, "but you must understand."

My father was only an ass."

—J. Lynn Thompson.

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